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FOR RELEASE:
IMMEDIATELY

COMMUNISM AND ASIA

Speech by H. E. Dr. George K. C. Yeh, Chinese Ambassador
to the United States, before Virginia Woman's Forum,
Richmond, Virginia, 3:15 p.m., November 6, 1958.

Madame Chairman, Mr. Governor, Under-Secretary Herter, Congressman
Gary, Representatives of Clubs of Virginia:

I have chosen to speak briefly today on the subject of "Communism and
Asia" because, I am sure, you will want me to tell you something about my
part of the world which is Asia. And I cannot think of anything in Asia
more important and of more concern to the world as a whole than the expansion
there of international Communism in recent years.

As we all know, almost half of the world's population is in Asia. The
world is so closely knit today that the fate of one-half of its people cannot
but be a matter of consequence to the other half, however far apart they may
be. But there are more specific reasons why the events in Asia are as
important particularly to the men and women in this country as those on
other continents.

First, it is on the mainland of China that international Communism had
first scored its signal success. The Chinese scene stands today as the
most defiant challenge not only to the rest of Asia but to the entire civilized
world. China is no small country. In terms of population, it is the largest
country in the world and it is contiguous to Soviet Russia. For nine years
now, the most populous country has been made to serve the interests of
international Communism.

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Second, the United States more than any other Western Power has responsibilities and commitments in Asia in spite of the fact that it has no colonial interests there. It alone of the West is defending the West Pacific against Communist aggression, although this is often not sufficiently appreciated by its NATO allies.

Still another reason is that the United States has a long coast line bordering upon the Pacific. Its people are geographically divided between those who are Pacific minded and those who are Atlantic minded.

Speaking of Asia, I think the most important single factor today which is the source of many troubles and which has inadvertently helped the propagation of Communism is the European colonialism of the past in that area. In fact, one can say that it is the reaction to European colonialism that has precipitated the rise of nationalism in all Asiatic countries. Nationalism is a historical phase in the development of most European countries. It normally takes the form of a political awakening to its own rightful position -- a sign of maturity and independence.

But in Asia nationalism, as it began to manifest itself ^{in the years} before World War II, had taken almost entirely the anti-Western line and become largely negative in character. To most of the Asians, who obtained their independence ~~after~~ the last war, nationalism means mainly a movement against the West and not only against European colonialism as such. No doubt, a number of factors had for many decades contributed to this disastrous state of affairs, for some of which the European Powers were justly responsible. But I shall not go into details here.

What is important for my present purpose is to point out that this residual bitterness ^{against} the West and colonialism has since the end of the last war provided a fertile soil on which international Communism has

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sown its seeds. The circumstances for the growth of Communism had been so favorable that in many Asian countries it is not possible at the early stage of its development to distinguish the nationalists from the international Communists. In fact, there has come into general use a self-contradictory term known as native Communism. Communism, as we know it, is anything but national; if it is Communism, it must be international in character.

An interesting phenomenon in connection with the rise of Communism in Asia is the fact that in most Asian countries the founders and leaders of the Communist movements were practically all intellectuals. They were not peasants, not laborers, as one might have thought. The reason is not far to seek. For the intellectuals in any country are usually more alert, more sensitive to political and social inequality and more vociferous in airing their objections and discontent. It is those intellectuals that the Russians succeeded in capturing in China in the early twenties as their instruments of propaganda against the established order. The Chinese Communist Party was founded in 1921 by Chinese intellectuals under the close guidance of Soviet emissaries sent by Stalin and with Soviet funds. Almost without exception the first institutions to be infiltrated by Communism in Asia have been the schools, the tea-houses, the newspapers and the small-scale local labor groups. A significant fact is that though Asia is predominantly agricultural, the peasantry has never been an active element in Communist movements.

Another important factor in Asia, which has also helped Communism to a degree and which is a vital problem in itself, is the economic under-^{its} development which is often considered the main cause of poverty and political unrest. I shall not spend much time on this point because it is generally

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known that the people in Asia live on a lower standard of material well-being, and that the colonial Powers in Asia had never tried adequately to satisfy the desires and aspirations of the Asian peoples for a greater share in the government and in the development of their own resources.

When in the past an Asian people became despondent and turned bitter towards their colonial ruler for being denied the opportunities for realizing certain hopes and aspirations, Soviet Russia often came along holding out its helping hand with glittering offers. I recall in this connection how after the First World War my country was sadly disappointed in the peace efforts of the Versailles Conference. Instead of getting what they had hoped, the Chinese were suddenly confronted with the possibility of the loss of the Province of Shantung. They, too, had declared war against Germany, but when victory came, they were to give away rather than to gain something. Almost at this time the Russians came up with an offer to abrogate her unequal treaties with China. It immediately caught the imagination of the Chinese people. The Russians were regarded as the only foreign friends who were willing to step down to an equal plane with the Chinese. The Russians also made offers of financial and technical assistance. It was also under these circumstances that Dr. Sun Yat-sen, head of the then revolutionary party, the Kuomintang, signed the famous joint declaration with Joffe, a representative of the Russian Communist Party, for a coalition.

There is yet another factor in Asia which has furnished opportunities for the growth of Communism. It is the psychological attitude of superiority on the part of most Westerners in Asia towards the native population in general. This has fostered on the part of certain Asians an inferiority complex, which has unfortunately played a vicious part in creating misunderstandings and

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maladjustments which otherwise could have been avoided. There is, of course, a difference in degree among the Asians in their bitterness towards the West and also in their sense of inferiority. China, which was never conquered by the West, although it shared with other Asian countries a number of colonial features, was able to live through a period of semi-colonialism without much residue of xenophobia. This, however, cannot be said for all the Asians, some of whom certainly retain to this day a deep-seated resentment and bitterness towards the West in general, Americans not excepted. Some even allow their "inferiority complex" to be sublimated into a superiority complex, which is often a thinly-disguised defense mechanism.

I have so far dealt with the rise of Communism in Asia without, however, telling you what Communism is like in Asia, particularly in China. With the limited time at my disposal, I should like to say that on the mainland of China Communism has been practiced with perhaps greater orthodoxy and rigidity than in Soviet Russia. There is no sign that Mao Tse-tung may turn a Tito. If he should change at all, it would be in the direction of another Stalin.

People have often asked me if I knew what was going on on the mainland of China. It is natural that the question should be asked of me. But I must tell you that it is not difficult to know what is going on in Communist China because the Chinese Communists, like all other Communists, believe in propaganda as an instrument of control. They are also proud of any measures, however brutal, which they may have adopted to enforce ideological conformity, and they certainly make it a point to publish all their acts of suppression and regimentation as well as the people's adverse reactions to them as a warning to the "counter-revolutionaries" and deviationists. One can get all kinds of Communist publications and newspapers in Hongkong, and it is not

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Chinese
difficult, as I said, to know what is going on under Communism on the/mainland.

The latest measure adopted by the Chinese Communists almost throughout the mainland is the system of the "communes." It is claimed that 500,000,000 farmers had been inducted into 23,393 people's communes. Each commune, averaging about 21,000 members, is ruled by a committee that controls everything from food distribution to funerals. Organized into work brigades, the members of the communes can be shunted from farm work to military or industrial duties on a day-to-day basis. Ultimately, private property is to be utterly abolished.

Some communes are already planning to tear down the houses of their members and to use the salvaged brick, tile and timber to build communal barracks. In Honan alone, over 6,000,000 children are now being cared for in communal nurseries. In some of the communes, "people's mess halls," the Communists boast, have already become the only places to eat. Instead of turning to his wife when his trousers need mending, the commune member now takes his problem to the "sewing brigade." The result, Peiping declares, is that 20,000,000 women in seven provinces now find themselves "freed" to contribute their family pots and pans to a scrap-metal drive and turn their attention from humdrum housework to such progressive tasks as "road building, tree planting and ditch-digging."

This development cannot but lead to the complete breakup of the family -- a mainstay of China. Out of this development, for instance, has come the "Saturday night" system. Under that system, all but one of the married women workers who live in a dormitory sleep elsewhere on Saturday night so that each week one of them by turn may have some privacy with her husband.

The director of a commune, almost certainly to be a die-hard Communist

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agent, wields absolute control over everybody in his area. According to regulations, "the Party organizations shall at all times have under their control the way of thinking of all commune members." It may therefore be deduced that the aim of setting up the communes is to reduce one-quarter of the world's population to the status of slaves. By November, so the Peiping regime predicted, 500,000,000 peasants on the mainland will own nothing ~~except~~ the clothes on their backs.

This system is significant because it is in actual fact a form of war mobilization, for the communes are military, political and social units by themselves. In a period of almost nine years the Chinese Communists have practically done away with the family as a basic social unit. They have suppressed all personal liberties including that of religious faith, and have redoubled their intransigence and defiance as an aggressor.

I would like to say that after having lived and dealt with the Communists in China for over 30 years, we have come to the firm belief that Communism can only thrive on suppression at home and aggression abroad, because the Communist ideology is such as to make expansion almost a condition of its survival. We have also learned that once a person becomes a Communist, he ceases to value the qualities and attributes in which his ancestors were taught to revere. It is for this reason that the Chinese Communists often seem to me so un-Chinese, and the people who assume that you can deal with the Chinese Communists now on the mainland with almost the same trust and confidence that you used to deal with a Chinese silk ^{Communist} or tea dealer before the/occupation can and will be sadly disappointed.

I thank you.

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CHINESE EMBASSY

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2311 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
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FOR RELEASE:

7 p.m., Nov. 11

FREE CHINA'S SACRED MISSION

An address delivered by H.E. Dr. George K.C. Yeh,
Chinese Ambassador to the United States, at the
Veterans Day Dinner, at American Legion Post #2,
Peoria, Illinois, on November 11, 1958.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

I deem it a great honor to address you on this memorable occasion of Veterans Day. The American Legion is well known in my country for its resolute stand in defense of freedom and justice. Apart from the fact that we were allies in the two world wars, the relationship between your servicemen and ours has always been one of friendliness and mutual respect. Thousands of our veterans who had fought with American troops in the China Theatre during the last war will be delighted to learn that I am addressing American veterans here in Peoria this evening.

All of you who have lived through the scourge of wars in the past and who understand perhaps better than others what war would mean in the future will naturally want to guard jealously that peace and freedom for which you had fought and won. The Chinese people, too, had fought, and for eight long years, against the Japanese militarists and had finally emerged victorious with their allies. But no sooner had they seen the light of peace and freedom than the fruits of their victory were lost to the treachery and subversion of international Communism. For, in 1949, the Chinese Communists, having taken advantage of the state of near-exhaustion into which the country had fallen, were able to establish a Marxist regime

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on the mainland with the backing of Soviet Russia. The Government was forced to move to Taiwan, or Formosa, where it has continued to function under its constitution and has become the rallying point of free Chinese the world over,

It is my purpose this evening to tell you something of the Communist rule on the mainland, its ruthless oppression at home and its aggressive designs abroad. I shall also try to explain to you the political goal of my Government which is to restore freedom to its people on the mainland. This to all free Chinese is a sacred mission to which they are dedicated.

The people on mainland China today live and work under conditions of abject slavery and mortal fear. It is obvious from the statements of Chinese Communists themselves that unrest is widespread and opposition mounting. This has been so ever since the Communists occupied the mainland. Lo Jui-ching, the Minister of Public Safety of the Chinese Communist regime, claimed in January this year as an achievement that in 1956 and 1957 his men had found it necessary to investigate 18,000,000 workers for "counter-revolutionary" thinking, had smashed 3,000 "reactionary" groups, and uncovered 100,000 "active counter-revolutionaries," of whom 5,000 are members of the Communist Party itself. On a daily basis, this means that during the past two years, among workers alone there were more than 25,000 anti-Communist cases investigated. The active anti-Communist elements arrested averaged to about 140 a day. He could not know, of course, how many had eluded his snares.

Let us remember that the figures I have just cited cover only the years 1956 and 1957. This was seven or eight years after the Chinese Communists had overrun the mainland and after a long period of liquidation during which they had put to death over 20,000,000 so-called "reactionaries and counter-

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revolutionaries," herded another 30,000,000 into concentration camps and thoroughly brainwashed the young and the aged. In spite of these severe measures, anti-Communist cases continue to be reported in the Communists' own press. That the Peiping regime does not enjoy popular support is evident from these facts.

In February, 1957, it will be recalled, Mao Tse-tung suddenly announced what appeared to be a new departure in policy. Using an old Chinese poetic phrase, he declared that he would let "a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend." In the speech in which he proclaimed this new mandate, he paid lip service to democracy and he made it appear as if his regime would welcome any constructive criticism. It is significant that this should have come some time after the Hungarian uprisings, which Mao had condemned only after a rather long period of silence. There was no question that the Chinese Communist leaders had felt the impact of the Hungarian revolution upon the people. Mao admitted in his speech on February 27, 1957:

"Certain people in our country were excited when the Hungarian events took place. They hoped that something similar would happen in China, that thousands upon thousands of people would demonstrate in the streets and oppose the People's Government."

It is highly probable that the "hundred flowers" statement was intended as a safety-valve to ease off the growing popular discontent and also as a means to smoke out the opposition elements from their foxholes. Whatever may have been the motive, the movement set off an avalanche of savage criticisms against the Communist party and its government. Riots and demonstrations broke out in many cities. Even members of the Communist party came out with grievances and charges against their fellow-members. Among these critics were a number of well-known professors, journalists,

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writers, party and government officials, scientists and industrialists. By May it was obvious that Mao had found out that the very foundation of his regime was being rocked by the blooming flowers. In June a movement within the Chinese Communist party was set afoot to counter the criticisms made against the party. This was quickly followed by the publication of one list after another of names of people who were branded "rightists." It appeared that all those who dared "contend" were publicly blacklisted. Then followed a period when all these "rightists" were given a chance to recant or to confess in order to escape the official stigmatization and punishment. Many Communist party officials were expelled from membership. The New China News Agency in Peiping reported on November 11, 1957, the mass "relocation" of about 3,000,000 students to rural areas to become farm laborers. As you know, the farmers in China constitute almost 85 per cent of the population. The Mao regime, in its effort to tighten its grip on the people, first started organizing the so-called "mutual aid teams" and later the "farmers cooperatives." But both these measures proved inadequate. Since May this year these cooperatives have been re-grouped into larger "people's communes," which is the most rigid form of control yet instituted by the Communists over the Chinese people. Peiping now claims that 90.4 per cent of China's 500,000,000 farmers have been organized into 23,393 communes, each averaging about 21,000 farmers. Each commune is ruled by a committee of diehard Communists which controls practically every activity of the farmer. Organized into what is called "work brigades," members of the communes can be transferred from farm work to military or industrial duties on a day-to-day basis. Some communes are tearing down houses in order to build communal barracks. The Communists boast that in some communes the only places to eat are the "people's mess halls," with the

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result that privately-owned pots, pans and kitchen utensils are contributed to the Communist scrap-metal campaign. Thus, women need no longer stay at home but can be mobilized to undertake what the Communists claim to be more progressive tasks, such as building roads, planting trees, digging ditches, and the like.

It is important to note that this system of communes is in actual practice a form of war mobilization. If one were to study the system in detail, one would discover that the entire system is aimed at increasing industrial output, eliminating voluntary labor and private property, and finally uprooting the Chinese family system.

One interesting fact in connection with the rise of Communism in China is that the Communist party was founded, as is usually the case in Asia, not by peasants or farmers, but by a small group of intellectuals. These intellectuals were able, however, to make use of the peasants and workers to create disturbances and revolts. But today on the Chinese mainland, by far the most intensive opposition against Communism has come from the intellectuals and the farmers. The Peiping regime has directed most of its control towards these two classes, particularly the university students. It is therefore absolutely untrue that the Communist regime in China has won over the minds and hearts of the younger generation. What happened in Hungary has proved beyond doubt that the young students and workers of Hungary had not been subdued by nearly ten years of Communist control and indoctrination. The student demonstrations in China in 1957 during the "hundred flowers bloom" period gives us another proof that after eight years of ideological rule, the students of China, at least a large number of them, are still in opposition to the Communist regime.

Let me recall an episode in the student revolt to which I have just

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referred. On the evening of May 4, 1957, in Peiping, 8,000 students gathered at a meeting, at which 19 student leaders made fiery speeches, openly attacking the Communist regime for suppressing freedom and democracy in the schools and in the country. The wall-newspapers of the Peking University became a free forum of the students. The Peking University student leaders edited and printed a periodical, entitled "The Relay Baton of Democracy," which they mailed to all colleges and schools throughout China as a clarion call to other students to join the common fight for freedom. They also sent their representatives to contact the students in the thirty-odd universities and colleges in the Peiping and Tientsin area.

As one of the student leaders put it:

"The call is for the mobilization of an army of one million youths to fight Communism, to oppose the so-called revolution, and to overthrow the real enemies of the people. We must fight for democracy, for freedom, and for the rights of man."

The response was unanimous from all student bodies in every part of China -- from Mukden in the north, to Canton in the south, from Shanghai and Nanking in the east, to Chungking and Chengtu in the west.

By the first week of June, the student movement threatened to break out into a popular uprising of the Hungarian type. On the evening of June 6, a few university professors and "democratic" politicians met and talked over the situation, and their general impression was that the students in Peiping and Shanghai -- the two most important and largest centers of student population -- were on the verge of declaring a strike and going into the streets to demonstrate against the Communist regime. One of the professors said: "This situation resembles that on the eve of the Hungarian revolution."

But the Communist regime, realizing the gravity of the situation, took repressive measures in all the large centers of student population to isolate

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the student groups, arrest the ringleaders and forbid all street demonstrations.

Of course, China is a vast country. It is not easy to consolidate all the anti-Communist forces on the mainland into one powerful movement. But the above description of the student demonstration, taken entirely from Communist sources, illustrates not only that anti-Communist movements exist but that it is also possible for these movements to gather quick momentum under favorable circumstances. The Communists will no doubt adopt all possible precautions and suppressive measures to forestall such movements but, I am sure, anti-Communist movements will continue to grow. The truth is that no regime can afford and can expect to maintain itself by the use of suppressive measures forever. I have every reason to believe that the stronger the suppression is, the greater will be the reaction.

In these circumstances, my Government in Taiwan has a vital role to play. There are 10,000,000 people on Taiwan. There are another 13,000,000 Chinese overseas, the overwhelming number of whom are strongly anti-Communist. My Government not only serves as a rallying point for all the free Chinese outside the Iron Curtain but also constitutes the greatest challenge to the Communist regime on the mainland. So long as we continue to exist, the cause of freedom in China will be kept alive.

But we must strive to assume an active rather than a passive role. It is for this reason that we have dedicated ourselves to the task of restoring freedom to our people. For the past nine years we have succeeded in setting up in Taiwan an example of the type of government and society in sharp contrast to what exists on the mainland today. Where the Communists have deprived every farmer of his land, we in Taiwan have introduced a system of land reform by which every tiller of the soil is enabled to own the land he tills. Where the Communists have subjected the younger generation to a

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Marxist educational program which destroys the family system, we seek to preserve the best features of our traditional culture. It is our resolve to preserve in Taiwan the continuity of our civilization and our form of government so that we may continue to be the repository of hope and trust of our people on the mainland.

I have often been asked whether we really believe that we can recover the mainland by the use of force in view of the enormous disparity in armed strength and manpower between us in Taiwan and the Communist regime on the mainland. My reply is that we shall achieve our mission not by relying on force alone but principally by relying on the continuing growth of the anti-Communist forces on the mainland, on the one hand, and our capacity to sustain such movements on the mainland by what moral and material support we could give them, on the other. In other words, there is already an anti-Communist base in the hearts and minds of the people on the mainland. That base cannot, however, sustain itself unless we in Taiwan stand ready to give it support when the situation ripens.

In this connection, you will recall that about three weeks ago there was issued in Taipei a joint Sino-American communique, in which it was made clear that the Chinese Government in Taiwan will continue to pursue its high mission of restoring freedom to the people of China on the mainland.

There has, however, been some misunderstanding concerning the use of force in the joint communique. Let me clarify it by saying that the Chinese and United States Governments are in full agreement that any attempt to interpret the communique as having committed the Republic of China not to use force in any circumstances is wholly inconsistent with its context. In fact, the communique does in no way prevent the Republic of China from using its forces in the exercise of its inherent right of self-defense or in case of

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large-scale uprisings on the mainland. My Government has always believed that in fighting Communism it is necessary to use simultaneously political, economic and cultural means rather than to rely on the mere use of force.

In a sense our task of regaining freedom for the people on the Chinese mainland is part and parcel of the fight for freedom throughout the world. I am firmly of the opinion that it is not possible to co-exist in peace with the Communist world unless the Communist bloc of nations should, by some miraculous metamorphosis, drop Communism altogether. The ultimate aim of Communism is to conquer the world by means of direct and indirect aggression. As Khrushchev put it so picturesquely, not until "the shrimps learn to whistle" shall the Communists abandon their aim.

Let us bear in mind that nearly one-third of the world's population is now shut in behind the Iron Curtain. Of the two-thirds that remain free, almost sixty per cent of the people are watching to see which side may win in the end. The United States alone has world-wide commitments in defense of freedom and justice. She alone has a series of bilateral treaties with a number of Asian countries based on the principle of collective security. The United States is also regarded by both Soviet Russia and Communist China as the arch foe of international Communism. To the millions who have fallen behind the Iron Curtain, the United States stands as a symbol of hope for freedom. Hundreds of escapees from Communist China now in Taiwan have told me that the people on the Chinese mainland continue to listen to the Voice of America. They are disheartened when they hear of any news which may suggest appeasement or compromise on the part of the United States towards Soviet Russia, for they know that their hope for eventual liberation depends largely on the active efforts of the United States and her allies in deterring further Communist advance.

It has often been said that the peace of Asia hinges principally on a free and united China. So long as the mainland of China remains in Communist hands, the whole of Asia will always be threatened by Communism. If the mainland of China had not been lost to international Communism, there would not have been the wars in Korea, in Indo-China, in Indonesia and in Malaya.

Mr. Chairman, I have tried in the limited time allowed me to give a general picture of the conditions on the Chinese mainland under Communist rule and of the hopes and aspirations of the Chinese people outside as well as behind the Iron Curtain.

May I conclude my talk this evening by expressing the hope that we who live in freedom shall not forsake those who live under Communist enslavement and that, in the interest of freedom and justice, we shall all hasten the day of their eventual deliverance.

I thank you.

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